

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

US and INDO-CHINA
Senator Johnson's
Courageous Anti-War Speech

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H-BOMB CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED

AMERICANS PROTEST



New York pacifists marked the opening of the Geneva Conference by simultaneously picketing offices of the US, Russian and French delegations to the United Nations. A committee representing the demonstrators presented identical appeals calling for withdrawal of all foreign powers from Indo-China and an end to the war there. The above photo was taken in front of the office of the US delegation.

PEACE NEWS CIRCULATION GOES UP 12,300 last week

IT is several years since Peace News readers got out onto the streets with their paper as they did last week. With such a challenging authoritative number as the special H-bomb issue copies sold like "hot cakes" at the May Day demonstrations and other big meetings.

In Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, Hull, Leeds, Cardiff and at the monster rallies in London, Peace News was there to say what millions of people long to hear today, that horror weapons must be abolished, the cold war give place to co-operation, Britain give a moral lead to the world.

One copy of Peace News conveys more truth than three month's of arguing. Give your friends and neighbours something to think about.

Give them Peace News. Copies for free distribution 2s. 6d. dozen, for sale 3s. 3d. dozen, post free.

Sales last week: Home Edition 11,200; Air Express Edition 1,100.

How they do it in the USA

Peace News volunteers in America, young Quakers, pacifists, Indian students and church workers have raised 400 dollars (£142) for Peace News Fund in two days by showing the famous documentary film, "Mahatma Gandhi—Twentieth Century Prophet."

Gale Potee, Chairman of the Peace News volunteer committee at Cambridge, Mass., reports that an incidental result of the film showing has been the reaching of many new persons who have shown an interest in Gandhi and his ideas. Several hundred sample copies of Peace News were snapped up at the showings and the committee expects this to result in an increase in subscriptions from the Greater Boston area.

Also included in every copy of Peace News sent out in the US last week was a special appeal to Americans to press their Government to keep out of the war in Indo-China. In the midst of all these activities the American Friends Service Committee Office at Cambridge found time to organise an influential four-day conference on Civil Liberties attended by leading figures in the campaign for democratic rights in the US.

Kill fear, not people, speakers urge

By LORNA WEBSTER

BENEATH the massive and impressive dome of the Royal Albert Hall a British National Campaign against any further use of the H-bomb and allied weapons of mass destruction was launched in London last Friday evening.

In his opening remarks from the chair, Anthony Greenwood, MP, commented that it was not for fun that MPs had recently paraded with sandwich boards in the streets of London's West-end. Rather, "When humanity stands at the crossroads, it is not time to pass by on the opposite side."

On April 5th, in a memorable speech, Mr. Attlee had said, "I want every man and woman in the world to be acutely aware of the danger in which they stand—the danger which confronts civilization." To this end the sponsors and committee of the Campaign now to be inaugurated—the Rev. Donald Soper (Chairman), Anthony Greenwood, MP (Vice-Chairman), Sidney Silverman, MP (Treasurer), Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP, Canon L. John Collins, A. Fenner Brockway, MP, George Thompson, MP, Arthur Carr (Secretary)—had pledged themselves.

NEGOTIATION FROM STRENGTH—"A WASHOUT"

In addressing the meeting Lord Stansgate said that "the policy of negotiation from strength is a washout."

One bomb could now kill two million people. Even the rumour of a bomb convincingly put, could cause the most terrible mass mutilation in New York, where, if everyone was simultaneously evacuated from the skyscrapers, the roads would be blocked four deep.

Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, said that she understood she had been asked to address the campaign both because she was a scientist, and because she was a woman.

She was not, however, a scientist who had worked on the atom bomb, because she did not believe in the construction of such weapons.

Atomic weapons had certainly become conventional. NATO forces were armed with atomic cannon. It had been admitted that a ban on atomic weapons would cripple the Organisation's fighting strength. Additionally, if war actually came, any ban on specific weapons would be useless. Any weapon can always be made again.

International control of atomic resources was once believed to offer an effective guarantee. But today scientists were no longer so sure. Initially there were only small supplies of uranium, plutonium and the other elements. This was no longer so. There was now sufficient uranium for cannon, and enough to ensure that some could always be kept in reserve.

Inspection could no longer be sure of being complete. Defence could not give security.

"The greatest debate in the history of the world"—Prof. C. E. Powell

By SYLVIA STEVENSON

This meeting regards the H-bomb as a menace to humanity and as a weapon whose preparation is unworthy of a civilised Power. It calls upon the British Government:

To declare that it dissociates itself from this or any similar weapon of genocide, and will under no circumstances use them;

To require similar undertakings from all its Allies, as a condition of its continuance of British association.

THIS resolution, drafted by Dr. Alex Comfort, was endorsed by a thousand people at a meeting in London last week called by the Medical Association for the Prevention of War, and Science for Peace.

The chief speakers were Dr. Alex Comfort and Professor C. F. Powell, eminent physicist and specialist in cosmic rays, of Bristol University.

From the chair, Dr. Jules set the tone of the meeting when he declared, "We are nearing the bankruptcy of statesmanship unless the common people now take action."

Dr. Alex Comfort followed. His speech on the progressive mental and moral deterioration which has followed the dropping of the first atom bomb on Hiroshima and which must inevitably result in the mass suicide of a world of madmen unless a halt is called is to be printed at length in Peace News next week and be made available in leaflet form.

IF THIS LUNACY CONTINUES

Next came Professor Powell, who gave the audience a clear picture of what we can expect if this lunacy continues.

"We are taking part," he said, "in the greatest debate in the history of the world—we hear the tolling of the great bell of history."

"The H-bomb is a million times more powerful than any weapon which has gone before. It is impossible to accommodate it within the existing framework of warfare."

He then described how this bomb, when used as a central detonator, can be packed with an unlimited quantity of combustible material—and instanced the destruction of a German township after the war, by the accidental mingling of explosive elements.

The energy released by the bomb used in recent Pacific experiments was 2,500 times greater than that of the A-bomb. The area of complete devastation was 7 miles, and lethal burns killed all within a radius of 30 miles. Japanese fishermen 100 miles away received burns which would have proved fatal under war conditions. Rescue would be rendered even more difficult by raging fires, increased by the great inrush of air.

As to the Cobalt bomb, from it "Cobalt 6" was distributed into the high atmosphere and precipitated in the form of radioactive rain,

contaminating large areas so that life in any form became impossible.

"Two great Powers now have the H-bomb—unless agreement to ban its use is reached, in another two years, three or four more Powers will have similar weapons. Methods of delivery are being rapidly increased. This is the time for accommodation—delay will be fatal."

Dr. Duncan Rees, for the doctors, quoted Tolstoy—"All men have the idea that they personally will gain something, by going to war." This idea had been proved false. Now, a few men have the power to launch a war without the consent of the majority of the people.

Britain Should Join Third Camp

—G. D. H. Cole

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

A POLICY of unification and disarmament for Germany, and of neutrality for Great Britain, was urged by Professor G. D. H. Cole in the first of a series of meetings "the danger spots of the world" arranged by the National Peace Council.

"Great Britain should make it clear to Mr. Dulles and the NATO powers that she is not prepared to be dragged behind America into any plan for the incorporation of Germany into a Western Defence scheme; nor into a Crusade in Asia; and that she is not willing to allow her forces to be used at the discretion of America."

The peaceful unification of Germany could only be brought about by agreement between Russia and the West, and Russia could not be expected to agree to a united Germany without some guarantee that such a Germany would remain unarmed. But if for a limited period—for a few years only—Britain, France

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C.D. does more harm than good—Scientists

Civil Defence could do more harm than good by lulling people in Britain into a false sense of security said the West Midlands Area of the Association of Scientific Workers this week.

"Britain could be knocked out, with or without CD, and independently of what our armed forces or those of our allies were doing. One bomb, properly placed, would kill at least two and a half million people in the Birmingham industrial area."

"The number killed would be considerably greater in the London area, and between two and six bombs should be quite adequate to break down our resistance."

"Anything that helps people to forget this fact, in our view, is dangerous."

"We believe that strong pressure by Britain to obtain the abolition of all weapons of mass destruction is a most urgent and important task before the Government, and that a lead should be given in this direction without delay."

ENGINEERS UNANIMOUS

A total ban on the H-bomb was called for in a unanimous resolution by delegates representing 1,000,000 engineers at the annual conference of the Amalgamated Engineering Union at Blackpool on Tuesday.

Mr. A. A. Matthews of Derby, moving the resolution, said that the world needed the total abolition of all weapons of warfare. The resolution called for the whole weight of the working class movement to be thrown into a campaign to ban the bomb.

The fears of both the USA and the USSR were not unreasonable. Both had done wrong and stupid things. Until each learned to look through the eyes of the other, neither would admit it. It was unfortunately easier to raise fear and hatred than to elicit kindness and understanding. Britain had to be friendly to both the USA and to the USSR. Personal talks on a friendly basis could achieve much. Highest-level talks were equally necessary.

JOINT ACTION

Following Professor Lonsdale, Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP, said that he and his colleagues were at the meeting as ordinary men and women come together to decide upon a joint course of action.

To the H-bomb all men were alike; it did not discriminate.

The problem created by the bomb, while new in certain aspects, was as old as life itself. It was a problem of action, of human behaviour. It was essentially a problem that had to be tackled at its roots.

Some people would say that complete pacifism offered the solution. Others advocated world government. All could agree on the great need for constructive action in all parts of the world.

"The decision which must now be taken lies with the ordinary people, where responsibility properly belongs. We of this century are faced with a problem which our forefathers have been unable to solve. If we are prepared to accept that we must abandon force as a weapon, we may find that solution. The present position in Indo-China is as critical as ever was that in Korea. There is a deadlock over Germany, with armed forces piled up on either side."

The Campaign's Petition urged the Government of Gt. Britain to "take immediate initiative to bring about a meeting between the Prime Minister and the heads of the Administrations of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for the purpose of considering anew the problem of the reduction and control of armaments and of devising positive policies and means for removing from all the peoples of the world the fear which now oppresses them and for the strengthening of collective peace through the United Nations Organisation."

GENUINE NEGOTIATION

Such pacification, urgently as it was needed, could in itself, however, provide only a breathing space, not a solution. There must be genuine negotiation.

"If we mean a United Nations representing everyone—we must include everyone. This includes Spain. It also includes China. In all matters direct co-operation is needed." President Eisenhower's recent suggestion of an atomic pool for peaceful purposes was a hopeful indication which still needed acceptance and transformation into reality.

"Two-thirds of the population of the world are, by any medical standards, denied adequate nutrition."

The real problems of the world were not to be found in the negative, sterile actions of the

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PEACE NEWS

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May 7, 1954

The Party should be split

THE danger that we face today is that, allowing their organisational loyalty to the Labour Party to have precedence over their loyalty to their moral convictions, those MPs who have the clear duty to take steps that may result in splitting the Labour Party may refrain from doing so.

We believe that the greatest service they can do for their constituents, to the people of Britain, and perhaps for all humanity, is to split the Party. They should not allow their organisational loyalty to take precedence over their moral convictions.

The issue raised by the hydrogen bomb is not an administrative matter which ranks with questions such as nationalisation. It is a fundamental matter going down to the roots of morality.

Mr. Charles Royle is one of three Labour Whips who voted last week in favour of adding a clause to the Atomic Energy Commission Bill which would stipulate that the hydrogen bomb should not be produced in Britain without specific Parliamentary sanction. With his two colleagues, Mr. Kenneth Robinson and Mr. J. Taylor, who also voted in favour of the clause, he has now been dismissed from his position as Whip.

Speaking in his constituency (Salford West) during the weekend Mr. Royle said:

"The present hydrogen bomb is 750,000 times more powerful than the most powerful bomb dropped on Europe in the last war. It is a weapon of world extinction. I would not be prepared to drop the hydrogen bomb on anyone anywhere. In the final analysis—though I thank God it will never come to that—I would say and I would go anywhere to say it, that world-wide communism would be a lesser evil than a hydrogen or atomic war.

The reason I cast my vote the way I did was because I believed that the British Labour Party and Britain have got to show moral leadership at this time. I am convinced that we would have more authority in world affairs if we said that the hydrogen bomb was a crime against humanity and that we would not make it; than if we said: 'We have got the bomb now you make a bigger one.'

In moving the proposed clause in the House, Mr. F. Beswick (Lab., Uxbridge) said "I accept the truth of the plain straightforward unequivocal statement made by the Bishop of Chichester that the hydrogen bomb is a sin."

★ ★

For these MPs the unsatisfactory Party compromise with regard to what are held to be "issues of conscience" could not apply. Where a man holds that to do a thing is morally wrong it is clearly his duty to oppose it and not merely to stand aside by abstaining from voting. The Executive of the Parliamentary Party had decided that there should be abstention on this amendment to the Atomic Energy Commission Bill by the Party as a whole. To accept this decision was to agree to leave unchecked powers to create and manufacture hydrogen bombs in the hands of the Government.

On the most momentous issues today we do not live under a two-party political system but under a single-party system. On such matters as whether Britain should have atom bombs, whether it should now go on to the manufacture of hydrogen bombs, and whether there shall be air-bases in this country from which the American Government can launch both atom and hydrogen bombs, the ordinary elector has no more power than he would have in totalitarian Russia. He has never been consulted. On these matters there is agreement between the caucus of the Conservative Party and the caucus of the Labour Party. The requirements of democratic consultation are ignored.

On the question of the readiness to manufacture and resort to the use of the H-bomb the man in the street—who experiences great disquiet on this matter—ought to be in a position to pronounce.

We hope therefore that there will be an increasing defiance of Party. The split may not be so serious as may be anticipated. It might in fact merely mean the splitting off of a militarist fragment containing such people as Mr. R. T. Paget, Mr. Woodrow Wyatt and Mr. Denis Healey.

Pacifists in the Labour Party must not allow issues of such stupendous importance to be covered up by window-dressing adjustments. A moral issue is present that ought to be brought to the country, and the opportunity to do this is in their hands.

Geneva and Korea . . .

THE Geneva Conference—it has got off to a better start than many anticipated—differs from Berlin in that there have been those present who could try to act as mediators, and the intervention of Australia's Mr. Casey has been important since he stressed the need for a closer examination of the North Korean proposals.

It would be idle to suppose that the Communist side could accept as satisfactory the present Government in South Korea, any more than that the Western powers would approve the Government of North Korea. There is no case for any scheme which involves the permanent recognition of Syngman Rhee and the handing over to him of the control of the whole country, which would have the effect of creating an all-Korean Government by the addition to the South Korean Government of a minority of representatives elected from the North.

If the Western powers are really concerned to vindicate democracy and commend it to all Koreans, they are precluded from endorsing a Government whose election methods violated all the principles of democracy and whose leader has shown himself to be a dictator of the worst kind.

We still believe that for Korea, as for Germany, the only possible solution lies along the lines of a unified country with a new Government elected by all the people under due safeguards and with the understanding that its future shall not be prejudiced by the attempt of either side to bring it into association with one or other power bloc.

A disarmed Korea, whose neutrality is guaranteed by both sides in the cold war offers the best hope of a permanent settlement.

The fact that UN is one of the parties to the Korean conflict rules out any chance of its being regarded as sufficiently neutral to supervise Korean elections, nor is it now possible to go back to the original scheme as though no war had intervened.

If supervision is necessary, it would seem that India, whose custodianship of the prisoners of war was accepted by both sides, would alone be able once more to play the role of supervisor and mediator.

. . . and Indo-China

WHEN Geneva turns to the problem of Indo-China we hope that Mr. Nehru's plan will receive prior consideration, for we believe that it contains the essentials of a general settlement.

The future of Indo-China has such a vital bearing on the whole problem of the Far East that it is unfortunate that it should be discussed at Geneva mainly by the representatives of existing power blocs, each with its own axe to grind and its own policy to pursue.

India stands as the representative of the wider interests of Asia as a whole and, indeed, of the whole human race. We hope that the British delegation at Geneva will ensure that the Indian proposals are made the basis of agreement between the powers whose own interests in Indo-China are so conflicting.

Ambiguous pledge

WE must face the fact that the Prime Minister's pledge to the House of Commons on Indo-China was worth very little.

Winston Churchill promised only that

BEHIND THE NEWS

Britain would not take military action in advance of the result of the Geneva Conference. He certainly could not have promised less.

Unfortunately, the suggestion that the Indo-China war might be extended with British help if the Geneva conference failed offers a strong temptation to Mr. Dulles. He has made his own views quite clear: to stand firm on American policy in the knowledge that if that means the failure of Geneva he can hope for the support from Britain which the Government were not prepared to give him last week.

Had Sir Winston been prepared to say that under no circumstances would Britain approve of, or share in, any extension of the conflict, there would have been a new incentive to America to help secure a successful outcome of the discussions on Indo-China and, to the French Government to fulfil the wishes of the majority of its people by ending the conflict through negotiations.

We hope that those Labour Members who have been pressing for a strong lead from the Labour Party against any British commitment in Indo-China, will succeed in persuading the leaders of the party to challenge the Government, if necessary, on this issue.

C. D.

COVENTRY—Clowne (Derby)—and now Birmingham. So the number of those councils which see through the fallacy of Civil Defence grows.

Coventry has put the Home Secretary in a dilemma by meeting his request for a reconsideration of the decision to disband their Civil Defence Committee with the demand that he should state what steps, if any, can be taken in defence against the H-bomb.

All armed for peace

IN view of the repeated assertions of President Eisenhower, Mr. Foster Dulles and Sir Winston Churchill that the possession of the H-bomb by America is in the interests of peace but that its possession by Russia is, of course, a different matter, it is interesting to recall that, with the necessary changes, Mr. Malenkov holds the same view.

Addressing the Council of Nationalities he said that the possession of A and H bombs meant that the Soviet army was ready to give a proper rebuff to the aggressor and that the bombs were therefore a means of defending peace.

If both sides were sincere in their intentions only to use atomic weapons in retaliation on an aggressor, it would seem to be an obvious and simple matter for both to cease wasting time and money in making them. The tragedy is that any resemblance of mutual trust is lacking and neither side accepts the assertions of the other. There is all the more need therefore for someone to break the vicious circle by an act of trust which in effect declares, "We will take you at your word, and in order that you may take us at ours we will not only say that we will not use atomic weapons if you don't, but we will neither make

them nor store them." So would the way be opened for a new move towards total disarmament. But why should we expect Russia to give the lead?

Mr. Malenkov also made a renewed plea for coexistence and reminded not only the Russians but the French and British people that he still regards the Anglo-Soviet Pact of 1942 and the Franco-Soviet Pact of 1944, as the cornerstones of European security.

The value which Britain and France put on the pacts is seen by their creation of NATO, but the Soviet Union is now ready to include the United States in any guarantee of European security, and also ready to accept the obligations of membership of NATO.

There is thus an opportunity of arriving at European security on the basis of mutual guarantees which include everybody, instead of on the basis of defensive alliances which divide Europe.

Reduce or abolish?

THE Defence Department of the American Administration proposes to ask Congress to reduce the period of conscript service from two years to six months.

Although the proposal has already met with opposition from at least two influential Senators, it is not likely that it would have been made public unless it carried the support of the Pentagon.

Will the British Government be prepared to follow American policy if it is approved?

It is conscription which is wrong, however, and the length of service matters much less than the recognition of the evil of the system itself. Nothing less than the complete abolition of conscription for military service will suffice.

Vatican and the Third Camp

IS the Vatican changing its outlook?

Though the Pope's Easter message on atomic warfare caused much disappointment, it has also provoked arguments as to what he meant by "legitimate defence."

The Osservatore Romano says

"The necessity of defence against any injustice is not enough to justify recourse to a violent method of war. When damage caused by war is not comparable to damage of 'tolerated injustice' one may be obliged to support the injustice. What we have said applies first and foremost to atomic, biological and chemical warfare."

This comment seems much nearer to the conditions for a just war laid down by the early Fathers than we often hear today. Moreover, "Il Quotidiano" has published an important article under the pseudonym of a very authoritative Catholic writer who says:

"An effort of goodwill of the United Nations would determine an immediate relaxation of international tension. Those who, to combat atomic warfare, would divide the world in two camps, seeing all the evil on one side and all the good on the other would not be interpreting aright the Pope's meaning."

A determination not to be identified with either side in the East-West conflict, clearly represents a revision of the position taken by the Vatican.

If the Vatican adopts the policy of neutralism, it could not only mean that the idea would become important in Italian politics, but that a new incentive would be given to the conception of the Third Camp everywhere.

LETTER FROM THE USA

THE various major possibilities which may come out of Geneva—more accurately, out of the struggle in Indo-China, in the great capitals of the world, in the hearts of men—can be pictured by means of four short words or phrases. They are:

STALEMATE—another Korea, or another Germany.

CRACKDOWN—another march by American troops and planes to the Chinese border, like MacArthur's in 1950—only this time *No Stopping at the Border!* Advance into China itself, bombing of Chinese industrial centres—with A-bombs "if necessary."

SURRENDER—turning Indo-China over to Communist control either directly and openly, or gradually by permitting a coalition government in which Ho Chi Minh and other Communists are included.

VICTORY—replacing A-bombs, H-bombs C(balt)-bombs, nerve gases, and other such instruments of race suicide by new revolutionary weapons of non-violent warfare to save and uplift the human race as a whole. Let us look at each of these possibilities for a moment:

Stalemate

Both the US and the Russian, the Western and the Communist bloc, seem to be in a stage when they don't want to see the global power struggle get completely out of hand and explode in atomic war; nor does either feel that it can yield anything of importance to the other and so bring the struggle to an end.

Thus a bitter war was fought in Korea. Neither side threw in the forces that would carry the fight to a finish; neither side yielded anything.

So they end up where they began. Korea is still split in half. Embattled armies face each other; only they are much bigger and more expensive to keep up than when the war began in 1950, and Korea has been frightfully devastated.

Germany is similarly split down the middle. The recent Berlin Conference called

to try to do something about it ended in stalemate—and the decision to call another Conference at Geneva to talk about Korea and Indo-China!

War in Indo-China between the French and Nationalist forces under Ho Chi Minh's Communist leadership has been bitterly fought for seven years. As in Korea, the US is pouring in military aid on one side—not far from a billion dollars' worth per year—China on the other side.

Suppose the Korean pattern is continued in Indo-China; the war drags on; neither side makes the ultimate commitment which brings victory—nor proves the spark that sets the world afire; after more months and years of fighting, they arrange an embattled truce in a ravished country as they did in

Korea. What will have been accomplished by further fighting?

Better an immediate truce, quit running the risk of having US troops drawn in, if Stalemate is the pattern which the Big Powers are bent on following today, even though another such truce as in Korea does not mean any fundamental resolution of the power struggle, any clear step toward real peace.

Crackdown

Nixon, Dulles, more subtly Eisenhower himself, have broadly hinted that the US should and will go all-out to end the stalemate and prevent a Communist regime from being set up in Indo-China. There are two big reasons why to date the great majority of Americans have expressed strong opposition to this proposal.

1. If the US embarks on this venture, it may have to do it alone. Even France may pull out!
2. No responsible statesman or general denies

By A. J. MUSTE

that this would mean a terrific war, bigger than Korea. Probably it would mean troops, planes and ships tied up in Asia, with Western Europe left exposed—unless an effort to make a quick, cheap end is made by using tactical atomic weapons—maybe A-bombs—on China.

But no responsible politician or general denies that this may cause a terrific revulsion against the US everywhere and may be the signal for all-out war.

Crackdown in Indo-China, the risk of all-out war, is a mad, suicidal programme for America.

Surrender

Shall we then compromise with the Communists, open the way either immediately or

gradually by the device of a coalition government, for Ho Chi Minh's Communist regime to take over?

Eisenhower and Dulles are perfectly correct in contending that this would shift the balance of power radically in favour of the Communist bloc. There would be vast repercussions in Indonesia, Malaya, Thailand, Burma. India would be in an exposed position. Japan, dependent for food and trade on Communist China and Indo-China, could hardly afford to antagonise them. And so on, and on.

We frankly think even this would be better than all-out atomic and H-bomb war wiping out civilisation, perhaps mankind. It seems to us that people who say "better no world at all than a Communist world" simply do not stop to think what "no world" means.

But pacifists do not want to strengthen one military power against another. They are against all militarism and all military powers.

FOUR ROADS FROM GENEVA

Pacifists do not contemplate with pleasure or indifference the spread of Communist or any other totalitarianism. They are willing to lay down their lives in the struggle against tyranny and terror—for brotherhood and peace. What then remains?

Victory

Victory for sanity, for the well-being of all mankind, for a world-brotherhood, for atomic power as the servant of mankind, not its Frankenstein, for peace.

Such a Victory, the only real Victory, a Victory for human beings on both sides of the battle lines, can only result from a radically new programme—as radical and new as the atomic age demands—and from abandonment of today's "horror weapons" in favour of the revolutionary, Gandhian weapons of non-violence.

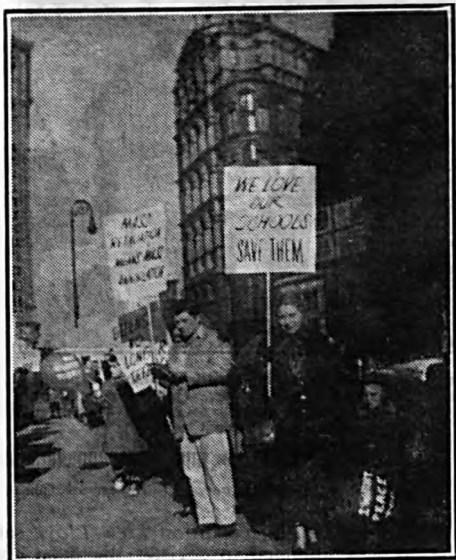
For the United States this would mean:

1. Abandon unconditionally and for ever the attempt to maintain American or Western military power in the Orient. To Orientals such power means *White Supremacy*. Any attempt on our part to maintain it in this second half of the Twentieth Century is futile and suicidal. If we will give it up—at home and abroad—the appeal of Communist totalitarianism will be ended. The world will once again regard America as friend and liberator.
2. Use the money, the materials, the brains, the organising skill, the vast energies of the American people, which would be saved if we got out of the antiquated, paranoiac, suicidal war-business, to support the popular revolutions around the world, to help the masses raise their standard of living—that is, to establish the spiritual and material conditions on which alone peace for America and the world can be built.

There shall be well-being for all or for none.

There shall be peace for all or for none. The method of War has reached a Dead End. Non-violence is the only weapon in this atomic age which does not destroy the people who wield it.

H-BOMB DEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK



More than 60 pacifists, some with their children, demonstrated recently in front of New York City Hall, urging Mayor Wagner to appeal to President Eisenhower to halt the H-bomb tests and to take the initiative towards world disarmament. The slogans pictured here read: "Mass retaliation means mass annihilation," "Defence no longer defends" and "We love our schools—save them."

TOLD BRIEFLY

An enemy writes to England

GUNTHER Klemm was one of the crew of a German bomber that was shot down in the Ribble estuary in April, 1941. Some of the crew were killed and some were captured.

The grave of one of the killed men is in Lytham St. Annes Park Cemetery. Gunther Klemm was taken to Lytham hospital where he was operated upon. He has sent a letter to the hospital expressing his deep gratitude for the treatment he received. He says that he met with nothing but helpfulness, kindness and friendliness.

"This human treatment caused me fully to realise the absurdity of the war in which our nations were entangled and I became a friend of the English nation... With all my countrymen I wish that there may never more occur such war between our two nations."

On the ceilings of the Palais des Nations where the Geneva Conference is taking place are symbolic human figures—five of them representing the continents—clasping hands in universal solidarity, writes Duncan Wood from Geneva. The appearance of new facilities for car parking outside the Palais illustrate one aspect of the serious accommodation problem which the authorities

The Editor of Railway Review writes in the April 23 issue of his paper of his experiences with the International Voluntary Service for Peace on Dutch Flood repair work in Holland.

"It is our duty as Christian churches to bring to bear all possible pressure upon the Government to put an end to the armaments race, and to foster peace and goodwill between the nations," declared a recent resolution passed by the Annual Meeting of the North Wales Evangelical Churches Union.

Referring to Dr. Soper's hope that he will be able to hold a meeting in Red Square when he visits Moscow in the Autumn the Denver Post (USA) remarks: "Britain's No. 1 Methodist is usually up to something unusual. And he usually brings it off."

Among subjects that will be discussed at UNESCO meetings in May are Arid Zone research, the terminology of the social sciences, questions relating to copyright and the development of bibliographical services.

Local authorities and council candidates will be questioned by the Crusade for World Government about the efficacy of civil defence arrangements and, failing convincing answers, will be urged by the Crusade "to abandon the facade of civil defence," says a statement issued by the National Council of the Crusade at their Annual Meeting this week.

U.S. CONFERENCE ON YOUTH AND WAR

About 100 young people attended a conference on Christian Youth and War sponsored recently by the Pacific-Southwest Region of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Picture shows Muriel Lester, travelling secretary of the International FOR, at evening meal with conference members.

FOUR BROTHERS GAOLED AGAIN

Four American conscientious objectors, Joel, Orin, Paul and Sid Doty, were each sentenced to two years imprisonment recently. This was their second sentence for resisting conscription.

All four previously served sentences for failure to register. Joel Doty's first sentence was two years, and the other brothers served 18 months sentences.



CALL TO A THIRD CAMP CONFERENCE IN BRITAIN

"Vigorous action along new lines" at Oxford

"EVENTS of recent weeks have raised international tension to such a pitch that strong and vigorous action along new lines is urgently required.

"It is now altogether necessary that we bust up the dichotomy of power created by the growth of the Russian and American blocs and offer the peoples of the world an alternative which will work towards peace instead of war."

So runs the introduction to a call to attend an all-day conference on the Third Camp to be held at Ruskin College, Oxford this Sunday, May 9. The purpose of the conference will be to declare allegiance to the Third Camp and to state as clearly as possible what such a commitment amounts to in terms of concrete policy.

Professor G. D. H. Cole, Reginald Sorensen, MP, and Allen Skinner, editor of Peace News, will be among the speakers. Raghavan Iyer, President of the Oxford Union will be in the chair.

The Call to the conference states:

"In the press everywhere there is news of the vast potentialities of the H-bomb. This increases immeasurably our stakes in war and peace.

"In Europe there is increasing agitation for West German rearmament and EDC. This threatens not only to put modern arms back into the hands of a twice-truant and unrepentant nation, but also to consolidate the present Cold War battleline so that advance towards peace would be impossible.

"In South-east Asia there is a military campaign which is worse than Machiavellian in its disregard for what is right and wrong, and in Washington drastic proposals are being mooted as solutions to the problem. This not only threatens war; such indefensible colonial suppression plays directly into the hands of the Communists, for it takes the heart out of anti-Communist resisters in Eastern Europe and leaves them little alternative ground to stand on.

"In the framework of this crisis we can expect no contribution to peace from the Pentagon or the Kremlin. Every move made by these bellicose leviathans brings us closer to a fatal war. It is now quite evident that the only path to peace lies in committing ourselves to a Third Force and aligning ourselves with other peoples who renounce atomic weapons and the international power politics which depend upon them."

It is expected that Asian, African and Arab students will be among those represented. Delegates have been invited from all neutralist groups, non-partisan peace organisations, and anti-colonial movements. The organisers would like to hear in advance from persons wishing to attend.

A copy of the final agenda can be obtained on application to The Preparatory Committee, 240a Ilfrey Rd., Oxford. The conference will open at 10 a.m. and close at 6 p.m. Requests for accommodation booking should be made to the Committee.

Bevan and Soper back petition against German rearmament

PROFESSOR G. D. H. Cole, Aneurin Bevan, MP, Lord Boyd Orr, Ritchie Calder, Dr. Donald Soper, Harold Wilson, MP, and Fenner Brockway, MP, are among those who have joined with the Union of Democratic Control in sponsoring a petition to Parliament against German rearmament.

The petition, which is to be presented on June 15, urges that the Berlin Conference did not exhaust all possibilities of a settlement of the German question on the basis of Four Power Agreement; that the rearmament of a divided Germany is a threat to world peace; and that every opportunity should be sought for the purpose of reaching an agreed solution of the German question and that all steps for the rearmament of Germany be halted.

In a statement of policy accompanying the petition the UDC urges the following policy to be arrived at in top-level discussions between the Four Great Powers:

1. Germany be unified on the basis of free elections and that all forces of occupation be withdrawn.
2. For a period of not less than ten years the four former occupying powers refuse to enter into any alliance with the new sovereign Germany.
3. The Four Great Powers guarantee the integrity of the frontiers of a United Germany as well as the frontiers of Germany's neighbours.
4. Germany be allowed a limited national force subject to United Nations inspection and control.

Petition forms may be obtained from the UDC, 21, Strutton Ground, London, S.W.1.

Against intervention in Indo-China

THE Central Council of the newly-formed Movement for Colonial Freedom, at its first meeting declared its unreserved opposition to the intervention of Great Britain in Indo-China or of British participation in any action assisting French Colonialism. It urged that the fullest support should be given to the proposals of Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, for a cease-fire and the establishment of an independent Indo-China.

The Council also viewed with grave concern the further mass arrests and movement of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribesmen from Nairobi. The movement of Africans, including 3,500 women and children to reserves in the central province, must aggravate a problem of overcrowding and privation which is already desperate. These methods serve only to increase the human suffering out of which Mau Mau itself has developed.

Mr. Fenner Brockway is Chairman of the Council, Mr. Douglas Rogers General Secretary and the Hon. Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP treasurer.

Alfayo Agufana, African Quaker granted a reprieve after being sentenced to death is to serve 10 years imprisonment.

Indo-China: victim of power politics

By J. HENRY LLOYD

MOST British citizens do not realise that the basic reason for the war in Indo-China is the French Government's desire to hang on to this group of nations, despite their desire for complete independence.

It is noteworthy that the BBC in its news bulletins about Indo-China is always fair enough to refer to Ho Chi Minh and his followers as "rebels," i.e., rebels against the French rule, as Nehru and Jinnah might have become rebels against us in India had the British Government been less liberal and decided in its policy.

It is true that Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the rebels, is a Communist and has no doubt been helped by the Chinese Communist Government, just as the French Government has been helped by the United States. It is this further interference by other governments which threatens the extension of the conflict into an international war.

Dangerous folly

The unscrupulous throwing on to the Chinese Communist Government of sole or main responsibility for the Indo-Chinese war is a similar technique to that employed in Korea, where North Korea, goaded by the reactionary policy of South Korea under its bellicose leader Syngman Rhee, was saddled with sole responsibility for the civil war which broke out in 1950.

Were there no Chinese Communist Government or United States Capitalist Government there would still probably be a nationalist movement in the associated states of Indo-China seeking freedom from the yoke of France. This is the central point on which world opinion should fasten, in condemnation, first of the French Government for not falling in with the willingness of Ho Chi Minh and the rebels for a peaceful settlement of the issues between them, and secondly of the Chinese and United States Governments for exploiting the war for their own ends.

The dangerous folly of the proposed South-east Asia pact between the Western powers is that it is based on the bankrupt conception of Western overlordship in Asia, which the self-government of India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia has decisively rejected.

It is a remarkable instance of the blindness to the lessons of history that the United States, itself a successful result of rebellion against an imperial power, should now, one and a half centuries later, throw itself on the side of an imperial power seeking to retain its hold on an unwilling subject people. It is equally shocking that in the face of the decisive rejection by the Chinese people of the former corrupt and reactionary government of Chiang Kai-shek in favour of a Communist regime the United States should go out of its way to revive the Chinese civil war in order to reverse this verdict.

Little to lose

Without in any way falling into the trap set by Communist propaganda in ambiguous definitions of "democracy," we can at least see that in the Far East, where there has never been political freedom as we in Britain know it, the people have little to lose by changing a government of landlords and financiers for one of Communist Party leaders and much to gain in more honest administration and improvement in their standard of life.

HARRY AND ME

"WHAT WOULD BE NICE," I said to Harry, trying to sound helpful, "would be if we could do something which hadn't been done before."

Harry looked at me with the look of a man who for seven years has been doing all the things that haven't been done before; the look of a man who has heard people tell him for seven years that he should do something that hasn't been done before; the look of a man who in spite of it all still believes in non-violence.

We were talking about ways to appeal to friends to help us make up Peace News' £3,500 deficit.

Supposing we try putting it in big type several times over. Like this:

£3,500 £3,500
£3,500 £3,500

There, I'll bet that hasn't been done before. Or has it? Honestly, when it comes to finance we're just about as happy as a bunch of H-bomb scientists down to their last neutron.

If you dear and valued readers wanted to do something that hadn't been done before you could cough up and clear off that deficit in one bang—just like that. Say over a month or two to be reasonable.

All right; I know it's silly to talk like that, but if you could, if you did, why Harry would just love you for it.

TOM WARDLE.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd. and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Contributions since April 23:

£26 14s. 11d.

Total since January 1, 1954:

£493 18s. 10d.

The coercive aspect of Communist rule will never be abated by war or threat of war, which only strengthens the ideological unity on which Communist governments rely for their support.

Liberalisation of the regime is only likely to result from the greater interchange of information and ideas with the rest of the world and the internal check of discontent with unsatisfactory conditions of life, as already exhibited in several Communist countries.

This natural process would be hastened if the Communist bloc were given more evidence of a square deal in the United Nations Organisation. At present the scales are weighted against them by the continued exclusion of the real government of China from its rightful place in that organisation, which naturally increases their suspicion and hostility.

International understanding can only be reached on the basis of recognised facts. One of the most profoundly important facts in the world is the rise of national and social consciousness in the unprivileged peoples of Africa and Asia. This consciousness may find expression in the democratic form which successive British governments have sought to promote. It may, in the absence or tardiness of such active promotion of advance to democracy by the controlling powers, find its expression in the Communist way, or it may lead to the tragic situation in Kenya of a relapse to primitive barbarism.

For the military supplies to US satellites should be substituted the tractors, technicians, teachers and administrators needed to raise the standard of life and capacity for self-government of the unprivileged peoples claiming a share in our common human heritage.

If we must contend with the Communists let it not be with engines of destruction but in the means of bringing a fuller and more worthwhile to our fellow men.

For all American readers

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Campbell Wilkie (Scotland), Pat Knowles (Birmingham) and Pamela Coates (London) at the Peace News stall where hundreds of extra copies of Peace News and much propaganda material was sold.

SET A DATE FOR COLONIAL INDEPENDENCE

PPU urges support for Third Camp; mediation in Indo-China; denounces H-bomb politics

Reported by Olwen Battersby

"PERHAPS it is very many years since we had a world situation so tense, and so terrifying, which yet gave some hope for the peace of the world," said Sybil Morrison, the retiring chairman, in opening the 1954 Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union in London.

"The future of the world may well be determined by what pacifists decide today."

After the election of officers had been announced, the General Secretary's report was considered section by section.

JOINT COMMITTEE: The Joint Standing Committee of Pacifist Organisations had been unable to agree to a pacifist political programme, but there had been most valuable liaison on specific issues.

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL: Leslie Smith, who was relinquishing his office as Secretary of the NPC expressed very warm appreciation of the happy relationship which had always existed between the pacifist movement and the NPC.

THIRD CAMP CONFERENCES

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL AND THE THIRD CAMP: Attention was drawn to the triennial conference of the WRI, to be held in Paris from July 29—Aug. 2, when the main subject for discussion would be "The Third Camp." Individual members were invited to attend.

In this connection Marjorie Jones, of Oxford, drew attention to a conference on the same subject to be held in Oxford on May 9, when Professor G. D. H. Cole, Allen Skinner, and Tom Wardle would be speakers.

Here at last was something on which non-pacifists—such as Mr. Nehru—and pacifists could work together; a movement relying not on military power but on moral power, and starting with neutrality. She hoped that the pacifist movement as a whole would follow the conference in Oxford and give support to the Third Camp movement.

Later, Grace Beaton, Secretary of the War Resisters' International, expressed her appreciation of the co-operation received from the PPU. The work of the WRI had extended in Japan, India and Africa, particularly in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and French and Spanish Morocco. Those who helped in this work were achieving something on a very wide scale.

CONGRESS OF PEOPLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM: Stuart Morris reported that this had now become the "Movement for Colonial Freedom." It was hoped that the Movement would link up organisations dealing with various specific aspects of imperialism and colonialism. It had not yet been decided whether the PPU would affiliate to the Movement.

LEAFLETS: A motion proposing that PPU leaflets should in future be "brief, factual and down to earth" and issued at "as low a price as possible" was put to the meeting by Albert Leaper (Hull Group) and carried. Preference was expressed for leaflets carrying a picture on the front, and bearing a short message on the back.

DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE LIBRARY: Dr. Jamieson hoped that more use would be made of Dick Sheppard House library. Hugh Brock urged that its maintenance was a valuable part of the work of the PPU and should continue.

YOUNG WAR RESISTERS

CENTRAL BOARD FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS: In reply to a question Bernard Withers said that all CO's were given the



Geoffrey Tattersall (Chairman of Executive), Vera Brittain (Sponsor and former National Chairman), J. Allen Skinner (Editor, Peace News), Sybil Morrison (retiring Chairman) and Hugh Brock.

names of pacifist and friendly organisations. It was left to each individual to make his choice, or not, as he desired.

The view was expressed by Fred Barton (Manchester Group), Chairman of the Independent Labour Party, that PPU groups should visit all local tribunals, and offer friendship and encouragement to young conscientious objectors.

During the last twelve months 40 young conscientious objectors had been brought

into the movement in Manchester as a result of such action.

AMERICAN TROOPS

THE NON-VIOLENCE COMMISSION was asked to consider action in regard to the present partial occupation of this country by American troops, and to resistance in the event of total occupation by either USA or the USSR forces as a result of a policy of disarmament.

THE YOUTH COMMISSION: Ian Dixon explained how the Pacifist Youth Action Group (PYAG) had been formed by a number of young people who helped to pack Peace News at Blackstock Road on Wednesday nights.

For some months they had been organising the selling of Peace News, arranging Hyde Park meetings, helping in the demonstrations of the Non-violent Resistance Group, and addressing the Youth Clubs associated with the Bedford Institute. In this way they were able to discuss international affairs with young people before conscription.

As the Youth Commission of the Peace Pledge Union they would continue to carry on these activities.

RELIGION COMMISSION: After it had been explained by Stuart Morris that there was no established custom in regard to speakers for the Annual General Meeting—these had to be arranged or not according to the amount of business to be covered—a motion from the Religion Commission on the choice of speakers was lost.

Members felt that National Council should be free to arrange for a speaker on any sub-



ject which seemed of paramount importance at the time of the AGM in question.

THE NO CONSCRIPTION COUNCIL: The case for the re-affiliation of the PPU to the No Conscription Council was put by Sidney Billson and Ted Jones, mover and seconder of a motion to this effect, and by four speakers from the floor.

It was pointed out that the NCC was a pacifist-dominated organisation; that the Secretary was a member of the PPU; and that most PPU groups throughout the country had made the NCC petition their main activity throughout last summer.

By working with non-pacifists on this issue they were able to draw on the liberal and trade union opposition to conscription. There could be no fear of Communist infiltration, since the Communist Party did not support the abolition of conscription.

Sybil Morrison, who had handed over the Chair to the new Chairman, Hugh Brock, opposing the motion, said that the decision of last year to disaffiliate had not been due to fear of Communist infiltration. The opposition to conscription throughout the country had been carried out almost entirely by pacifist groups, and the maintenance of a separate office for this work had seemed an unnecessary expenditure.

The voting for and against being equal, the motion was lost, having failed to obtain the required three-quarters majority.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: A motion embodying the recommendations of a sub-committee, which would have placed PPU members into two categories, those who were signatories to the pledge only and those who in addition paid an annual subscription, was proposed by Douglas Clark, PPU Accountant.

The motion failed to secure the three-quarters majority required for a policy motion (168 for; 130 against).

ACCOUNTS: In presenting the PPU accounts, Douglas Clark pointed out that expenditure this year was £110 in excess of income—which was disappointing. The Headquarters Fund, £1,021, had again reached its target, thanks to the excellent fortnightly appeals written by

Stuart Morris in Peace News, but members' subscriptions were the lowest on record. The year ended with a balance of £94.

PEACE NEWS: The editor, Allen Skinner, reported on the very grave financial situation in which Peace News found itself at the moment.

In expressing his thanks for the very rich heritage left to him by Bernard Boothroyd, who had now resigned from his position as Director of Peace News, he explained that the circulation at the time at which he took over the Editorship had been something over 12,000. It was now 11,200, and this in spite of the fact—largely due to the initiative of Russell Johnson and Harry Myster—that 1,100 air mail copies were being sent to America. Allowing for additional US circulation, Britain had fallen by 900 in the last year, the total circulation remaining the same.

Unless there was a turning of the tide, Peace News had a precarious future.

Connie Jones, the PPU Field Worker, had estimated that only about one-third of the copies of Peace News sold were taken by



members of the PPU. There was therefore either something very wrong with the paper, or something very wrong with the movement. To pay for itself, Peace News needed a circulation of 20,000.

Very warm appreciation for the paper, coupled with assurance "that there was nothing wrong with editorial policy" was expressed by speakers from the floor.

POLICY

"That the AGM of the PPU believing that the time has come for a practical, progressive and flexible policy, instructs the National Council to take such steps as may be necessary to present a cogent policy for submission to Groups at the earliest possible moment." (Hull Group).

In moving this resolution on behalf of the Hull Group Violet Mitchell said that there were many on the fringe of pacifism, but they could not accept a negative policy.

They wanted to know what was the alternative to militarism; what would pacifists do in regard to colonial problems; to the situation in Indo-China; and to possible invasion.

Tom Wardle in supporting this view said that in framing a peace policy the leadership had already been given us.

Our friends of South East Asia, of Africa and the Middle East had formed themselves into a "Third Camp," a neutral bloc allied to neither of the great power blocs of East and West. They were showing us the non-violent way to resist oppression (in South Africa) and the non-violent way to social revolution (Vinoba Bhave, in India). Pacifists should accept the leadership of the "Third Camp."

Further speakers stressed the urgency of the "War on Want," a problem which could only be tackled on a sufficient scale when the foreign policy of this country had been radically changed.

This resolution was pushing at an open door, remarked the General Secretary, Stuart Morris. National Council were giving consideration to the question.

Proposing: an amendment, "To delete all words after 'National Council' and substitute 'to proclaim a national peace policy on the lines of the Toldas Peace Plan.'" Roger Rawlinson said there were two economic reasons for the militaristic policy of this country. One was our reliance on American economy, and the other our need to maintain our export trade by the exploitation of our colonies.

It was unrealistic to press for disarmament unless we tackled the whole colonial problem. This the Toldas Plan did: It demanded total unilateral disarmament and a generous foreign policy toward other nations, and the use of non-violent resistance as a technique in resisting domination.

The amendment was lost and the motion carried by a large majority.

THE COLONIES

"That this AGM desires to place on record the deep concern of all members of the PPU at the present suppression of colonial people in various parts of the Commonwealth, and urges the Colonial Secretary to strive to achieve a spirit of friendship and understanding in all future relationships between



Minnie Pallister (Sponsor), Phyllis Vallance (London Area Chairman), Albert Leaper (Hull), Hugh Brock (National Chairman), Sybil Morrison (Campaign Organiser and retiring Chairman).

the British and Colonial peoples." (Liverpool Central Group).

In proposing the resolution Llew Lloyd said that it was intended to register the deep concern felt by members of the Liverpool group about people overseas, and to urge pacifists to press this subject on the government.

While supporting this sentiment, members nevertheless pointed out that the British way of life and standard of living was based on



G. Anthony Bishop (Australia, now at War Resisters' International Headquarters in England), Frank Dawtry (WRI Council), Dorothy Bing, Eric Brown (brother of H. Runham Brown, founder of the WRI), Harold Bing (WRI Chairman).

a system of tyranny and oppression. Any gesture of solidarity or friendship toward colonial peoples must be accompanied by an act of renunciation: a repudiation of privileges associated with colonialism.

Drawing attention to the "woolly" wording of the motion, and in particular to the inaccurate use of the word "Commonwealth," Harold Bing, Chairman of the War Resisters'

continued on next page

Handing over, SYBIL MORRISON says—

Something is happening to people now

"Though there is a kind of parting in this, I want to say now that I hope to be working for the Peace Pledge Union, and to be with you, for many years to come," said Sybil Morrison in relinquishing the Chairmanship of the Union.

She believed that something was happening in the world today. It might be happening for the wrong reasons; it might be the result of fear and terror; but people were becoming aware of their responsibility as citizens. Perhaps there was a turning of the tide: it might be only a ripple, but we dare not miss it: Pacifists should go forward remembering that whatever the grounds on which they based their beliefs—religious, agnostic, atheist, rational—the faith that linked them was as a rock which could not be shaken.

She was happy to hand the Chairmanship to Hugh Brock: one younger than herself, and one who had given such keen, able and faithful service to the movement as a whole.

Taking over, HUGH BROCK says—

Beat the War Office at public relations

The new Chairman, Hugh Brock, expressing his gratitude to those who had sent messages of encouragement on his election, said the thought that had been uppermost in his mind was that the movement had for the first time elected as Chairman one who had not known Dick Sheppard nor been a member in the early years of the PPU.

He was very conscious of occupying a position that had been held by two great men: Dr. Alex Wood and George M. L. Davies.

As a token of appreciation by the movement of her services, he handed Sybil Morrison a travelling clock.

Speaking at the close of the AGM, Hugh Brock said that the War Office had public relations officers with much of the taxpayer's money behind them. The PPU with little money must have every member as a Public Relations Officer.

He was glad to notice that so many PPU members had been writing letters to the Press—and getting them published. Many would not know whether others writing letters to the Press were PPU members, but on one occasion he had seen three letters on the H-bomb in the News Chronicle, all from pacifists, and he had been thrilled by the knowledge that "PPUers were on the job."

He asked all members to go back to their groups with a determination to increase the circulation of Peace News and concluded:

"In the year ahead, let us keep constantly before us the vision that has inspired so many—of our country disarming itself in order to lead the rest of the world to peace and unity."

PPU and Colonies

From page four

International, moved the following amendment.

"To delete all words after 'PPU' (line 2) and insert 'at the continuation of a Colonial policy by the Government of the United Kingdom and urges H.M. Government to:

- (i) announce an early date by which peoples of colonial territories shall have the right of self-government with the choice of membership of the Commonwealth or complete separation from it, and
- (ii) undertake, in the meantime, an extensive policy of economic and cultural assistance to, and in co-operation with, such peoples, with a view to helping them to prepare themselves for complete self-government."

The date at which self-government was practical might vary, he pointed out, but some definite indication should be given.

Seconding the amendment, *Dorothy Bing* pointed out that it represented one step toward the furtherance of a world administration, for there could be no world unity or world federation except between sovereign states.

Warm support to the amendment was given by *Dr. Jamieson*, the PPU representative to the Movement for Colonial Freedom. If we could satisfy colonial peoples by giving them some sort of timetable the whole psychological situation would be changed, as it had been in India.

In further discussion it was pointed out that colonial rivalry intensified the split in the world, and increased the danger of armed conflict. Its renunciation, and a renunciation of the comparatively high standard of living based upon it, should be a part of the pacifist policy.

The amendment was carried with overwhelming support and the amended motion was then adopted.

EMERGENCY RESOLUTIONS. An emergency resolution urging the PPU to associate itself with the H-bomb National Campaign was moved by *Fred Deutsch*, and after standing orders had been suspended, was warmly discussed by members.

While there was general agreement that the petition did not go far enough, nor represent the pacifist point of view, many members felt that it was a first step, and that working with the campaign pacifists could put the full pacifist case.

In reply *Stuart Morris* said that the petition did not in fact demand "the banning of the H-bomb," and although demanding immediate action it could not be completed until the end of the summer. He outlined the reasons (given in a statement published in *Peace News* for April 23) why delegates from the Friends' Peace Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Movement for a Pacifist Church, as well as from the PPU, had felt obliged to disassociate themselves from the campaign after having attended one joint meeting at the House of Commons with great hope.

Stuart Morris added that the Peace Pledge Union had issued its own leaflet on the H-bomb, and was arranging its own meeting on the subject to take place at Friends' House, on May 18, when the speakers would be *Donald Soper*, *Kathleen Lonsdale* and *Vera Brittain*. Pacifists were urged to support this meeting.

The resolution was lost (50 to 130). A second emergency resolution, proposed by *Sybil Morrison* and seconded by *Harry Mister*, read:

"That this AGM of the PPU believing that there is at this moment the gravest danger of a conflagration that could end in the total destruction of our civilisation, urges that full support be given by HM Government to Mr. Nehru's offer to mediate now in the Indo-China conflict."

It was carried unanimously, without discussion and was to be sent to the Geneva conference without delay.

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Friday, May 7

BRADFORD: 7.30 p.m.: Central Hall, Manchester Rd. John P. Fletcher, "The Challenge of Africa." Chair, Lady Morris. SoF.

EALING: 8 p.m.: 13 Florence Rd., W.5. Report on AGM. PPU.

LONDON: 7.30 p.m.: Hoxton Hall, Hoxton St. (Old St. Tube). Will Paxifism Work? Open Discussion. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

Saturday, May 8

BRADFORD: 3 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Melbourne Place. Delegate Conference. "War on Want." Speaker, John P. Fletcher. War on Want (West Riding). Details, R. A. McKinley, 28 Bankfield Rd., Shipley.

Sunday, May 9

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.: Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

Monday, May 10

HARROGATE: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Oxford St. Public Mtg. Stanley C. Farrar, "Steps to Peace." Harrogate Peace Group.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.: 77 Derbyshire Lane, Salford. Advice and Fellowship Mtg. for Conscientious Objectors. Young War Resisters.

Tuesday, May 11

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.: Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

Wednesday, May 12

LONDON: W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Non-violence Commission. PPU.

LONDON: W.C.1: 6.30 p.m.: 29 Gt. James St. AGM of Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, London Group. Tea 6 p.m. APF.

LONDON: N.4: 7 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action Group mtg. 3 Blackstock Rd., Finsbury Pk.

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.: Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FOR. PPU.

Thursday, May 13

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Archie Donald, "Should Married Women Work?" PPU.

LONDON: W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON: W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.: Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

Friday, May 14

CROYDON: 8 p.m.: Adult School Hall, Park Lane. Conf. on Disarmament. Sybil Morrison, Prof. G. O. Jones. Croydon Cncl. of Peace Groups.

PLYMOUTH: 7.30 p.m.: Royal Assembly Hall, Athenaeum Place. Michael Foot, MP. "Shall we Re-arm Germany?" Chair: Noel Priestley. PPU, FOR, WILPF, Plymouth Peace Council.

Senator Johnson's courageous anti-war speech

A FEW hours ago the President said in Kentucky that regardless of how this war (in Indo-China) started, it was now the free world versus communism. I wish it were that simple.

Edward R. Murrow says that Senator McCarthy thinks every critic is a Communist. In world affairs, our diplomats seem also to be making that basic McCarthy error...

I am unable to support the belief that the conflict between the French-supported Viet Nam and the rebel Viet Minh is, in truth, a war of the forces of freedom, on the one hand, and the forces of communism, on the other hand. Soviet Communism, with its contempt for the rights of the individual, is a despicable tyranny. But it is not the only tyranny. Unbridled imperialism, the law of the jungle that says the strong shall devour the weak, the "haves" shall exploit the "have-nots" is no less... the uncompromising enemy of our American principles...

Peace is voiceless in the USA

Forces are at work to get this nation committed to war in Asia. Some of these forces we know to be our enemies... Unfortunately, there seems to be no articulate force in America determined to keep us out of war. But because it is not articulate, do not think for a moment that this force is not present. Congress must give it a voice that will be heard and that will be heard in time...

Our press and radio during the past few weeks have pulled no punches... in describing France's Indo-China enemies, the Viet Minh as "the Communist forces!" This war has been going on for nearly eight years. As recently as five years ago the Viet Minh were not labelled, even by the less responsible press, as Communists. As recently as five months ago, they were not so identified, even by the French. In fact, even 90 days ago dispatches from Saigon discreetly and consistently called them the Communist-led Viet Minh, never the Communist forces, or the Communist Viet Minh.

At what point, and to what degree, has this war, which every record shows to have been a war of freedom and independence, a war against imperialism, at what point did it suddenly become a war of Communist aggression?...

Asia is in revolution—revolution against colonialism. The promulgation of what we in America believe are the inalienable rights of every man, and the right to walk as equals with dignity in the world community is sweeping Asia...

The astonishing victories of the Japanese Army in China... taught Asiatics for the first time that the Western powers were not invincible... The inspiration of Japan's success, coupled with the arms provided by Japan's surrender, literally all over Asia, supplied the two essentials for these nationalist movements... It was largely on the crest of this popular tide that Mao Tse-tung rode to final victory... Russia was not a factor in Mao's success; in fact, it did nothing for him until after Chiang's defeat...

Nationalism, inspired originally by America, is being thwarted by America, with the aggregate effect of driving independence movements to Moscow... In the minds of a great many Asiatics and Europeans, and

The speech by Senator Edward Johnson (Democrat, Colorado) from which the following extracts are taken was made in the American Senate on April 26. I. F. Stone describes it in his weekly as the first forthright anti-war speech in the Senate during the crisis... those who want peace should arm themselves with copies for their friends.

members of the Arab States as well, America does not quite know what it is for, and only faintly what it is against...

They (our European and Asian allies) know that the war in Indo-China is not a war of Communist aggression. They know that the forces opposing France's colonial rule in Indo-China are just. They know... (that American aid to France) from their point of view might well justify China in helping her Southern Asiatic neighbour with traffic in arms and munitions.

Suppose, for example, Mexico were conquered and held by an Asiatic power. Suppose the people of Mexico rose up and struck down their oppressor. Then suppose an even stronger Asiatic power intervened, to support the status quo... Would not we feel obliged in the name of freedom to give our Mexican neighbour revolutionists all aid and comfort? And if the other Asiatic power embarked troops in Mexico, would not we feel justified in sending our forces to drive them out?

What sense in such slaughter?

Whether every one of 24 million people of Viet Nam is a Communist or whether not one of them is, is not the question. If all of them are Communists, what is to be accomplished by sending 10 American divisions there, to make them live as we want them to? The only way to combat an idea is with a better idea. What better idea is being advanced by our sending tanks and bombers to slaughter the people of Indo-China?... Have we so completely abandoned the principles of freedom?... What kind of people have we become?

If we want to make Communists of all the people of Asia... if we want to bleed ourselves of all principles and vigour... let us join the jungle war... But... if we mean to restore America to the place it has held for nearly 180 years in the minds and hearts of men, let us demand peace with honor, now, for France in Indo-China before it is too late. The negotiations beginning today in Geneva give us one last chance. May we have the wisdom to make the most of it.

The Church and the Bomb

TO THE EDITOR
DR. FISHER was reported in the Daily Telegraph to have said during his Easter Day address at Canterbury Cathedral, apropos the hydrogen bomb:

"To abolish the bomb you must agree with others, and others with you, to lower all threats and barriers. Till then the world must bear the hideous burden of its own sins... Statesmen and citizens may say 'there must be a new start.' Indeed there must, and it is only another word for repentance."

But for a member of a Church which has always condoned this sin whenever required to by the State, to denounce and place the onus of repentance on the flock that Church has deliberately misled throughout the ages, makes nauseating hearing for both God and man.
Clarwyn
East Beach, Selsey.
ESME WYNNE-TYSON.

May 7, 1954, PEACE NEWS-5

THEATRE

Above the State

The Prisoner, by Bridget Boland. Globe Theatre.

WITH Alec Guinness in the role of the prisoner, here is a play one should not miss. The theme is that of a famous Cardinal, arrested by the secret police because the totalitarian State is jealous of his popularity. What the State requires is his signature to a faked confession; and this the prisoner will not give.

But the strength with which the Cardinal resists the suggestions of his captors is conquered by his own sense of guilt. On account of his mother's adulterous nature, he confesses to his interrogator that he has never known the gift of love. He has served man and he has served God, but always with love absent from his heart. Now, he insists, he must make restitution; and in an open Court he admits to these feelings, along with other charges levelled against him which, in his humility, he does not refute.

His stewardship of the Church discredited, he is finally released: to endure the accusatory questioning stare of those who once believed in him. But, in his ignominy, he is of greater spiritual stature than before. He knows now, in the words of St. Paul, that without charity he is nothing; and leaves his prison with the resolve to add love to obedience.

The surpassing merit of this play is that it does not fan the flame of fixed ideological passion, but uses this most sore occasion to further an increase of self-knowledge. As a revelation of human guilt, together with the grace available beyond it, *The Prisoner* is a deep and distinguished drama.

Mr. Guinness, as the Cardinal gives a most possessed and expressive performance.

DEREK STANFORD.

* * *

The Dark is Light Enough, by Christopher Fry, Aldwych Theatre.

"YOU make light of the ways of war, Countess," says one of the characters in Christopher Fry's new play, *The Dark is Light Enough*. The background is that of a country house in the Austro-Hungarian empire during the abortive Hungarian rebellion of 1848-49. The central theme of the play is the action of the Countess Ostenburg, played with subtlety and power by Dame Edith Evans, in sheltering a deserter from the Hungarian rebel forces, the first husband of her daughter. She takes the risk of allowing her present and conventionally upright son-in-law, Count Zichy, to be taken as a hostage rather than give up the other man.

Later, after the Austrian victory, the Countess astonishes those around her by giving asylum to that Hungarian Colonel who formerly demanded that the deserter should be handed over. The Countess allows these men to take refuge in her house because she believes that any and every human life is valuable, and ought to have the right to live.

The new Fry play has much less of the lyricism and effervescence of his earlier work, and the imagery is more work-a-day. Yet there are lovely and wise lines in *The Dark is Light Enough*. Fry brings to light some of the dark places of the mind; and makes light of the pomp that is buttressed by violence.

ROBERT GREACEN.

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KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube, Sunday at 7 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

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OUTLOOK AT GENEVA

The American dilemma

GENEVA

THE people of Geneva are all proud of the fact that their city has been chosen for what is one of the biggest international conferences to be held since the war.

It reminds them of the old days when the League of Nations met here and Geneva was always in the headlines.

But the League failed to stop the Second World War and the nations who met at UNO thought it better to start again somewhere else.

So UNO is at New York which some people regret because it means that it is too much dominated by USA and that it is difficult to catch the real spirit of international friendship.

The League of Nations collapsed because the world wasn't ready for the idea. It failed to stop World War Two.

Obvious hatred

Can the conference which is being held here now do something that will prevent World War Three, in which civilisation, at least in Western Europe, could be blotted out?

As long as the conferences and the talk goes on, there will not be war, it will be impossible to start again in Korea and we shall have a cease-fire in Indo-China.

One of the photographers who was in at the formal opening session told me he had never seen a conference where so many people so obviously hated each other; he said he couldn't see any likelihood of bridging the chasm between the Americans and the Chinese.

Yet they have at least been brought into the same conference room together and there is no lack of mediators prepared to give good advice.

It has been good to hear so much wide appreciation of the British Government's refusal to be drawn into new military commitments in the Far East.

Britain's turning down of the American proposal that she should be prepared to give at least moral support to a fresh offensive in Indo-China is one of the great decisions of recent years and is recognised as such.

Most people here now regard Mr. Eden as the mediator, and the Russians are now among

the enthusiastic admirers of Sir Winston Churchill, who, they think, had much to do with the decision that halted America at a critical moment.

It is the American Government that is now in a dilemma.

As Walter Lippman put it in his article in the New York Herald Tribune:

"The American position at Geneva is an impossible one as long as the leading Republican Senators have no terms of peace except unconditional surrender of the enemy, and no terms for entering the war except as a collective action in which nobody is now willing to engage."

Lippman expressed the view of many people here when he suggested that Mr. Foster Dulles "is well advised to consider leaving the conference and of having the United States withdraw for the time being to the side-lines. For he cannot put the USA in the ignominious position of trying to prevent the termination of a war in which it is unwilling to participate except on conditions that everyone knows cannot be met."

Mr. Molotov's line

Mr. Molotov in taking the line that it must be Asia for the Asians is saying something that is not only endorsed in China, but in India and Japan too.

Mr. Molotov said:

"The fundamental political changes in Asia have found their supreme expression first of all in China with its population of more than 500 million. Social, economic and political changes in China are taking place before everybody's eyes, and not to reckon with that means not to reckon with events of the greatest historical importance."

"Furthermore, who can deny that such a country as India with a population of more than 300 million, has entered the historical arena."

"Only recently India was a colony. However, nobody can deny that India occupies an ever more prominent place among the countries defending their national independence and seeking to occupy their important place in international affairs."

How could any British government justify any action or policy likely to drag us at the heels of America into some disastrous war in Asia?

There can be few people in Britain who would agree to such a war, especially with the prospect of H-bombs dropping on Britain.

There should be no change from this line now. We must continue to say a blunt and emphatic "No" to any dangerous suggestions that come from Washington.

G. D. H. COLE

□ From page one

and Russia, using the machinery of UN could enforce German disarmament, then he believed the peace of the world might be saved.

"Great Britain should join up with such neutral forces as there are in the world," he continued. "She should join with the third factor in world affairs—I do not want to use the term third force—with Nehru and with that group of states which stand for peaceful co-existence. I believe that is the right policy for us to follow."

Dangers of a Crusade

He believed that a united Germany, armed, would wish to reassert its control over those territories lost in the war; that the "nastiest" part of German life, the landlordism of East Germany, would be brought back into influence; and that the new Germany would be encouraged to sweep eastward in an attempt to "liberate" the peoples of the satellite states, of Czechoslovakia, and of the USSR itself. An anti-communist crusade launched from Germany would not be without support even from the West.

West German rearmament

Speaking of the rearmament of Western Germany he said: "The idea that we could integrate Western Germany into the Western community and subsequently unify the country, thus bringing Eastern Germany also into the Western block is a fantastic idea which could only be achieved by war."

West German rearmament would create a situation similar to that we had had in Korea, in which two sides, armed, faced each other across an artificial parallel, and in which there was continuous incitement on each side to bring down the forces of the other. War would result.

A second reason for opposing West German rearmament was the fact that with the French forces and so prevent a German preponderance up in Indo-China there would be an ever increasing demand on Britain to increase her forces, and especially the French officers, tied in EDC.

"I do not believe that the Soviet Union has the smallest intention of invading Europe," he continued, "and if they did I do not think that the German army—replacing American soldiers sent home—would make one ha'porth of difference. Russia would invade Europe only if she could win a war in that way, but she knows that invasion would be an invitation to the West to blow up her cities with atomic bombs."

The Russians believed that the countries of the West would come to revolution on their own, and at that time Russia would be ready to lend a helping hand.

"For me, German rearmament is a matter of conscience," he concluded, "and no party line will make me follow what I believe to be wrong."

The "Goebbelsists" are in the last ditch

But the nuclear physicists, who are always discovering more and more lethal secrets from the unknown, are the rebels. It is among them you find the martyrs, the Communists, the pacifists, the cranks. The novel is about these two sorts of men and the problem before every nuclear physicist:— "Either you retired and helped to leave your country defenceless. Or you made a weapon which might burn men, women and children in tens of thousands."

—John Betjeman on THE NEW MEN by C. P. Snow. Daily Telegraph, April 30, 1954.

LONG before the Atom and Hydrogen

bombs were invented; long before "obliteration bombing" and "unconditional surrender" became part of military strategy; long before tanks and zeppelins, parachutes and rockets, ordinary people have been subjected by Press and politicians to the appropriate propaganda for an "either—or" policy.

It is no doubt true that the majority of adult human beings do not want wars and therefore it has always been necessary for governments, with wars in mind, to work upon the imagination of the populace in advance of the final announcement.

It was never true that Goebbels was the inventor of that type of warfare. That he was more able to bring it to a "fine art" because of the scientific discoveries that made it possible for him to speak to millions of people while seated at his own desk, does not invalidate my contention that he was by no means the first to indoctrinate the people of a country with lies, nor is he the last.

In 1914 Britain embarked on a war with Germany that became a world war. Germany

was denounced as a militarist nation, a country that would never rest until Europe was over-run and trampled down by the "Uhlans jack-boots." Atrocities stories kept alive the fear not only of tyranny, but of a hideous and congenital brutality. Either we must fight for our lives and win, or we must go down to disaster under the heel of mad Prussianism.

This "either—or" had its effect upon the youth of that decade, and was bolstered up by the idealist plea that German militarism defeated would mean war itself defeated.

Though it afterwards transpired that this was the ultimate lie; though it became known that German youth had been told some tales of British brutality and British imperialist desire to dominate Europe, the propagandists remained undefeated, and rose again to trumpet out their falsehoods during a decade which could have been an era of peace.

The end was the second world war and the choice—victory for British arms or totalitarianism. Once again the populace chose war; once again the Germans were defeated; once again the trumpeters were proved wrong for totalitarianism was not defeated.

* *

It is no: Germany now which is the enemy of peace; it is no longer the German's jack boot but the Cossack's which may stamp upon the necks of the free and peace-loving peoples. Now the choice is between Communism and atomic war.

It is true that the "Goebbelsists" have not faced us with that choice yet; the choice is between victory for Communism or the possession of weapons which, if they are used, will destroy in all probability, the whole human race.

Though the cry now is that the H-bomb is necessary as a deterrent, many people have an uneasy feeling that a deterrent that can never be used may not after all be much of a deterrent, and suspect and fear that some one country that possesses it may decide to get in the first blow.

Perhaps it begins to be clear enough to defeat even the most die-hard of propagandists that "we conquer or we die" which has always been nonsense since it is perfectly possible to be defeated and live—is no longer an "either—or" to be heard on the lips of any politician or statesman. It is known now that there can be no victory where there is no world left for the victors.

It is no longer a question of leaving "your country defenceless" or destroying millions; all countries and peoples are defenceless against this terrible man-made evil. To think in terms of that kind of defence is the last insanity. There are other defences than self-destruction, and another strength than the might of arms. The country that decides to refuse its sanction to these weapons, and today that means refusing its sanction to war, will be in an unassailable, invulnerable moral position from which to take the lead in bringing peace to the world.

The "Goebbelsists" are in the last ditch! Victory for peace may well be in sight.

'Ban the Bomb' paraders wanted

ON two days prior to the "Ban the bomb—outlaw war" meeting at Friends House on Tuesday, May 18 poster paraders will march through the West End of London. They will advertise the meeting and give out leaflets.

The parades will take place on Thursday, May 13 at 6.30 p.m. and Saturday, May 15 at 10.30 a.m. Volunteers are asked to inform Sybil Morrison at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1 (EUS 5501) of times when they will be able to attend.

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Chairman: Tom Wardle.

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